

SIEGE OF BOSTON POWDER HORNS: HISTORY AND ART

by Joel Bohy

The Siege of Boston began on the evening of April 19, 1775, and ended on March 17, 1776, with the British evacuation of Boston. Horns made during the Siege are things of beauty. Some bear the names of the men who carried them, telling human stories including locations where they were stationed and sometimes the date they were made. But they are also functional. They work very well in keeping gunpowder dry and have an outside surface like an unpainted canvas, wide open for decoration. Having heard collectors say for years that these horns were made as a memento, but not for actual use while in the service, I figured it would be useful to add some documentation on horn usage prior to and during the Siege. In a way, the carving might have been a memento helping to identify the owner of the horn, but they were also useful and important vessels. In this article, we will talk about seven powder horns carried and/or carved during the Siege, and an unfinished horn done by an unknown carver. But before we dig into the details we should talk briefly about how the Siege began.

On the night of April 18, 1775, British regulars began a march to Concord to destroy warlike stores purchased by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress' Committee of Safety and Supplies. Colonel James Barrett of Concord oversaw the materiel and the lists of these stores, as well as where they were located; these lists survive.¹ From artillery, cannon shot, tents, muskets, musket balls, powder, cartridges and provisions, to medical kits, wooden bowls, spoons and 15,000 canteens, it is pretty evident why the British felt they should go to Concord and destroy this materiel. At about 7 or 8 p.m. on April 18th, a British patrol was spotted on the Concord Road in Cambridge and word got out that the regulars were on the move.² A few hours later, Paul Revere and William Dawes, along with many other riders unknown to history, would sound the alarm through the countryside. Local militia and minute companies quickly awoke to form and march towards the town of Concord. As the British marched through Lexington at dawn on the 19th, they fired on the Lexington militia killing eight and wounding ten. The column then arrived in Concord and destroyed some of the warlike stores, although much of the material had been hidden or moved prior to their arrival. Fighting erupted at the North Bridge around 9 a.m. and three regulars as well as two Provincials were killed. At noon, the British left Concord and were attacked as they reached Meriam's Corner on the outskirts of town. The fighting grew in intensity as British reinforcements and more Provincial troops arrived, and the column was hit all the way back to Boston. By that evening, roughly 5,000 Provincial troops surrounded the town. The next day there were about 20,000 and the Siege of Boston had begun.

Like many other colonies, Massachusetts had militia regulations since the 17th century. On December 21, 1774, the Continental Congress had recommended regulations be published in Provincial newspapers, including Boston. Amongst other rules and regulations, they stated that they were to "*make themselves masters of the military exercise[.] That each man to be provided with a well fixed firelock and bayonet, half a pound of powder; two pounds of*

lead, and a cartouche-box or powder horn, and a bag for ball, and be in readiness to act at any emergency."³

Militia and minute companies were required to outfit themselves with arms and equipment although some towns had to supply arms to those members who couldn't find or afford them. At the end of February 1775, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had asked for returns of each company in the state. Companies had musters and returns were taken, although only a few survive. One such town was Sudbury, just to the southwest of Concord. In their town archives, they have copies of their master rolls that were sent to the state, and in the Massachusetts Archives collection is one of the complete returns from Captain Aaron Haynes' company in Colonel James Barrett's militia regiment (Figure 1). As to his company, on March 22, 1775, just under three weeks before April 19th, he submitted his return "*To the gentlemen field officers of This Regiment these are in compliance to advise of Congress and your request a Return of the Numbr and aquiptnefs of the Company of militia under my Care viz. men = 60 – well Provided with fire arms, most of them have either Sword Bajonets or hatchets. about one third with Catridge Boxes. &c.*"⁴ So in this instance, Captain Haynes' company had two thirds of his men with powder horns. Other Sudbury town records also bear this out through the powder and ball issued early on the morning of the 19th.

Almost three weeks after the above return was sent to Colonel James Barrett and the state, the war broke out. I have a lot of information in my files and it's tough to pick just one account relating to powder horns, but this extract is spectacular. It was written by an unknown British officer of the 4th Regiment of Foot who marched out of Boston later on the morning of the 19th as a part of Lord Hugh Earl Percy's 1,000-man relief force and met the beleaguered British column returning from Concord in East Lexington near its border with the Cambridge village of Menotomy. In the letter, he describes the chaos of the fighting in the afternoon. As the British column was being fired on from all around, including houses, they shot at the windows where Provincial soldiers might snipe at them and tried to get inside. One such house was owned by 59-year-old Jason Russell. Our unknown officer describes the scene "*in one of those Sallys I had a very narrow escape having a Granadier of the 5th, a soldier of ours, & a marine killed all around me, but we soon got into the house & I counted 11 Yankies dead in it & the orchard, one villain had 73 Balls in his Bag & 2 horns of Powder.*"⁵ Not only did he describe the fighting, but seems to have had time to count the balls and the powder horns carried by the "villain," as well as dead bodies in the house and orchard.

But there were twelve killed at the Jason Russell house or on his surrounding farm. One casualty he missed was killed behind the house, orchard and barn on a slope going up the back of the property. His name was Lieutenant John Bacon, a member of Captain Caleb Kingsbery's Needham militia. On April 22, 1776, his family wrote a petition to the General Court to get reimbursement for the items he lost on the 19th (Figure 2). He is listed as losing a gun, a powder horn, a pound of bullets, cash and clothing.⁶ On

71
 Sudbury March 22nd 1775
 To the gentl. men Field officers of This Regiment
 These are in Compliance to advice of Congress
 and your Request a Return of the Number
 and Acquaintness of the Company of Militia
 under my Care (viz. men = 60 - well
 Provided with fire armes, most of them have
 either Sword Bajonets or hatchets, about one
 third with Cartridge Boxes. &c.
 If you Gentlemen will accept of this General
 Return you will oblige your
 Humble
 Sar. Aaron Haynes Capt

Figure 1. Return of Captain Aaron Haynes' Sudbury Militia company on March 22, 1775. Massachusetts Archives Collection.⁴

the evening of the 19th, ten of the bodies of those killed at the Jason Russell house including Russell and Lt. Bacon were buried with two other men killed just up the road in a mass grave behind the meetinghouse. Based upon an 1848-dated document found in the local church, the twelve bodies were exhumed for a new monument to the heroes killed on the 19th, and according to the writer, "they were all buried in one common grave, with

their clothes Knapsacks, &c on."⁷ Pieces of ball pouches and other objects were taken from the grave in an 1848 exhumation and are now in the collection of the Arlington Historical Society. The deceased soldiers' guns were picked up after the fight, but given what was written in 1848, they may have been buried with their horns as well as their ball pouches and the other items retrieved from the mass grave.

This may Certify whom it may Concern that
 3830
 Lieut John Bacon was in my Company on the 19th of
 April 1775 and was Killed at Monctony by the Kings
 Troops. He had a Gun with him which was Lost their
 worth Eight Dollars at a Reasonable Price L. 2..8..0.0
 A Powder Horn worth 1/2d. One Pound of Powder 2/ 0..3..7.0
 A Pound of Bullets 5d. And Cash 4/ 0..4..5.0
 And Clothing Worth 0..11..0.0
 L. 3..7..0.0 Total
 Attest Caleb Kingsbery Capt.
 Needham April 22nd 1776

Figure 2. Petition for losses of the family of Lt. John Bacon killed in action on April 19, 1775. Massachusetts Archives Collection.⁶

Figure 3. Detail of the April 23rd establishment of the army with numbers and locations of soldiers. Massachusetts Archives Collection.⁹

Improv'd by sea — 1000	Hing — 1
at Medford 1000	Wofford — 1
at Sunday sea port 598	Braintree — 2
Towns — 1	Weymouth — 1
<hr/>	Malden — 1
Roxbury — 5000	Chelsea — 2
Dorchester — 4000	<hr/>
Cambridge — 4000	Medford — 1
Charlestown — 4000	Sundridge — 1
Noddies Island — 2000	Marblehead — 1
Long Island & } 2000	<hr/>
the Moon &c } 2000	5000
<hr/>	
23196	

By the evening of the 19th, the Siege of Boston had begun. The next morning, a council of war was held to get supplies and provisions to the troops, as well as to form a unit to go back and bury the dead along the road.⁸ By the 21st, provisions were being issued to the troops at the Siege and supply depots were setup in Cambridge and Roxbury. On the 23rd, the army was officially forming and a document establishing the army was printed. On the back of one of these documents at the Massachusetts State Archives is a hand-written establishment of the newly formed army with numbers of troops by state that had arrived,⁹ as well as the locations of the soldiers and how many were there (Figure 3). The list has a total of 23,196 Provincial soldiers surrounding Boston. Although that number would fluctuate up and down, this is a staggering number of men who answered the April 19th alarm and

came to Cambridge. The April 23rd breakdown shows 5,000 at Roxbury, 4,000 at Dorchester, 4,000 at Cambridge, and 4,000 at Charlestown (modern day Somerville), with the rest scattered on the harbor islands and in seaport towns. With these numbers, we can see how there are a surprising number of Siege of Boston powder horns that still exist in collections today.

Other than sporadic skirmishes along the siege lines, the next major fight would be the Battle of Bunker Hill. There are many petitions for those who were wounded, killed and lost items including horns, so again, I had to choose one and decided upon the petition for losses of Eleazer French of Dunstable, Massachusetts, a member of Captain Samuel Gilbert's company of Colonel William Prescott's regiment (Figure 4). He lost a little more than a horn. His petition states "Eleazer French Did in Bunker's Hill

Figure 4. Petition for losses at Bunker Hill for Eleazer French. Massachusetts Archives Collection¹⁰

Thes may Certify that Eleazer French Did in Bunker's Hill Fight loose his right Arm and with it his gun Price Eight Dollars and Carriage Wax-Powder Horn-Wagonet — 3/4th Powder 1 1/2th Balls and 1 Blanket all his own Property which last Article Price 28/2^d the whole amount \$ 31 15 - 2

March 14th 1776

To the Pay Master for the Attest Joseph Baker Lieut
 Massachusetts Colony
 Said French Belong
 to Col. Prescotts Regiment
 Capt. Saml. Gilberts
 Company

308

*Fight Loose his Right Arm and with it his gun...and a Cartrage Box – Powder Horn – Bayonet- ¾ lb Powder 1 ½ lb Balls and 1 Blanket.”*¹⁰ According to the petition, French seems to have been carrying a cartridge box and a horn when his right arm was shot off by a cannon ball during the horrific battle.



Figure 5. Recreated 19-round cartridge box showing the gap between the bag and flap. Authors photograph.

From the start of the Siege, the Committee of Supplies had been struggling to supply cartridge boxes to the fledgling army. There are documents at the Massachusetts Archives that mention those wanting in each company of every regiment. Notes between the Com-

mittee of Supplies and Nathaniel Barber, the deputy commissary in Cambridge, mention how hard it was to keep them in supply. On June 26, 1775, Barber states “*I have just receiv’d your letter & observe the contents. We have not a cartridge box in the Store, the demand for them is very great, 3 or 400 would not be too many to send.*”¹¹ Local makers like Nathan Smith in Sudbury, Reuben Brown and Jeremiah Hunt of Concord, James Bott of Salem and many others were doing all they could to keep up with the demand.

Although the cartridge boxes were desperately wanted, they were fairly crude. They consisted of two pieces of thin sheep or calfskin cut flat at the top and about half-round on the bottom, sewn with the face in, soaked and turned right side out. A heavier leather flap and strap is attached, and a 19-round pine block, although some extant examples have 17 rounds.¹² This style of box was copied from the earlier British designs of the French & Indian War period. The British had realized the flaws of that design and had updated to another style of pouch and strap by 1768. Without an inner flap or ears on either side of the box, water could get in and destroy the cartridges (Figure 5). Obadiah Brown was a soldier at the Siege from Gageborough (now Windsor), Massachusetts. In January 1776, he wrote in his diary “*16 orders came for one Shilling to be taken out of the Soldiers wages for Every Cartridg Lost 17 Orders for the militia to have powderhorns in stead of Catoos boxes.*”¹³ While some of the cartridges very well could have been damaged or destroyed by the negligence of the soldiers, it is quite possible that the cartridges were also damaged by water entering the box through the rather large gap on the upper sides, hence the order to use horns. A new style of cartridge box, at least in Massachusetts, didn’t come about until early spring 1777.¹⁴ So before all the negative comments start arriving, I am by no means saying that cartridge boxes were not used or necessary. They were. Paper cartridges are certainly a better and faster way for soldiers to load than using a horn, however, based upon many of the loss documents, it seems that for a while, at least, they still needed to use powder horns to keep their powder dry.



Figure 6. Richard Williams map showing the locations where each soldier who owned the horns were stationed. Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.

Now that I've gone over a brief history of April 19th and evidence relating to horn usage during the Siege of Boston, it's time to talk about the eight wonderful carved horns in the collections of David Prawdzik and Nick Manganiello. I've been able to find more information on some of the original owners of the horns than

others. As many of you who do historical research from this period know, it can sometimes be difficult to find certain documentation. See Figure 6 for the location of each soldier who owned the horns was stationed.

The Joseph Rumrill Horn



This horn (above) is marked “IOSEPH RUMRILL/HIS HORN JULY Ye 28: 1748”. The original spout was damaged at some point and replaced with one fabricated from sheet brass with a pewter band to keep it secure. It has foliate designs, the ever present ship, a snake, half circles and double lines filled with cross hatching and a flat pine plug. The carver is unknown and the work is very well done.

Joseph Rumrill was born in Chelmsford, Massachusetts about 1726. At some point, he settled in Townsend, Massachusetts, a small town in northwest Middlesex County. As he was a male over the age of 16, it was his duty to join the militia when he was of age. Tensions were running high with the French and their Native allies after King George's War, and he enlisted in Captain Edward Hartwell's company on August 9, 1748, to guard against enemy attacks. He served in Hartwell's company until October 17, 1748, but his service did not end there. He was still serving in the militia and is listed as a member of Captain John Stevens foot company of Townsend when he received a bayonet for his gun on November 3, 1759.¹⁵

Rumrill married Lucy Stevens on June 22, 1749, and started a family. On April 19, 1775, when the British marched to Concord to destroy Provincial stores sparking the American Revolution, he marched along with his 19-year-old son, Joseph Jr., in Captain James Hosley's company, Colonel William Prescott's regiment. While they did not arrive in time for the fight that day, they did take part in the Siege of Boston with Joseph Sr. serving for 17 days.¹⁶ Thereafter, he seems to have returned to Townsend and resumed his life. He died on May 21, 1799, at the age of 73 and is buried in Townsend. (David Prawdzik Collection)

The Amasa Brown Horn



Brown's horn is marked "AMASA BROWN HIS HORN/MADE AT ROXBURY JuLY Ye 8 1775/1776", and at some point had some damage on the plug end, which was then trimmed off and the slightly convex plug reinstalled. It has an iron staple that remains in the plug to secure a strap. It's carved with a ship of war, a sloop, fortifications and structures including a church or meetinghouse with a steeple, as well as trees, and muskets with bayonets. As with the Rumrill horn above, it is unsigned, so we don't know who the carver was.

Amasa Brown was born on February 26, 1750/51, in Colchester, Connecticut and enlisted at Hebron in Captain Levi Wells Company, Colonel Joseph Spencer's Regiment on May 11, 1775. He served at Roxbury during the Siege of Boston until his enlistment expired on December 17, 1775.¹⁷ Brown enlisted in the 3rd Connecticut Regiment on March 10, 1777, and he is listed as a sergeant. He was discharged on March 6, 1780, and died in Hebron in October of 1837. (David Prawdzik Collection)

The Reuben Sikes Horn



Sikes, the carver of his own horn, marked it with the name and date spiraled around the length of the horn "X:REUBEN:SIKES:HIS:X:HORN:MADE:BY:HIM:IN:ROCKSBURY:-CAMP:NOVM:ye:6:1775:". Around the spiraled text are buildings in a line, a meetinghouse and a ship near the base. It has a rounded pine plug.

Reuben Sikes was from Somers, Connecticut. He was born on July 13, 1756, and enlisted in Captain Emory Pease's Company, Colonel Jedediah Huntington's 8th Connecticut Regiment on July 7, 1775. He served at Roxbury during the Siege of Boston until his enlistment expired on December 16, 1775.¹⁸ Sikes died on August 19, 1824, in Worcester, Massachusetts and is buried there in the Rural Cemetery. (David Prawdzik Collection)

The James Van Gilder Horn



Marked "Ioames VAN GILDER HIS/HOR N ROXBURY THE 1775/STEEL NOT TIS HORN FORO", this one is a favorite of mine based upon the naïve markings and misspellings. Like many of the others, it has foliate designs, a ship as well as "A BOOT." It also has a fortification marked "ROXBURY UPPE" quite possibly meaning the upper Roxbury fortifications. There is another fortification shown with a sally port entrance and some crude cigar-shaped cannon and carriages, another half-round crude fortification with two more cannon on carriages, muskets, a strange looking dude, and a fish. Next to that is a figure who might be a Native American with a heart on his chest looking at a tree and a bird, with a deer looking back at him. The most peculiar art on this horn is what looks to be a sea monster or mermaid with a tail and

four fingers on each hand. Its pine plug is rounded with remnants of green paint. Whether that was done during Van Gilder's service or later in its life is not known.

James Van Gilder was from Great Barrington, Massachusetts and was born in 1748. He enlisted in Captain William King's Company, Colonel John Fellow's Regiment on May 8, 1775 and served at Roxbury and Dorchester during the Siege of Boston until his enlistment expired, probably in December of 1775.¹⁹ He appears in a muster roll from Captain Allen's company, Colonel Wigglesworth's regiment from January 20, 1777, to June 1, 1778. One genealogy site lists him as dying in 1778, although the circumstances and actual date are unclear. (David Prawdzik Collection)

The Thomas Smith Horn



This horn is another of my favorites. The carving work is wonderful and very detailed. It reads "Thomas Smith/HIS HORNE MADE AT/BROOKLINE FORT AUGUST/THE XV:MDCC:LXXV:1775". On the left side of the horn is "The Royal Artillery" with flags, cannons, implements and stacked cannon balls. It also has a fife, drum, sticks and muskets. There is a hunting scene marked "A huntfman" with a hunter in a short jacket and round hat with a powder horn tucked up under his right arm shooting at a deer. His dog is with him on the hunt. It also has a very well-carved ship of war with a rooster high above the bow and a sloop with two small sailors, one looking like he's flipping the bird to the men at Brookline Fort. Under the ships are two large fish. Sadly, we don't know who the carver was, but there are other examples of his work I'll talk about below.

Thomas Smith was born in Rowley, Massachusetts on September 11, 1748. He married Elisabeth Champney on April 17, 1769. When British forces marched to Concord on April 19, 1775, Smith was a member of Captain Thomas Mighill's company of minute men. On April 24th, he enlisted in Captain Mighill's company again, which was now a part of the newly formed Massachusetts Army. Captain Mighill's company became a part of Colonel Samuel Gerrish's regiment, and in July 1775 they were stationed at Brookline Fort. I was able to find the muster rolls for the company and Smith was there until the end of December 1775.²⁰ After his enlistment ran out and he was discharged from service, I could find nothing else about him. Like many folks during that period, he may have moved to New Hampshire or Maine, and with the common name of Thomas Smith it's hard to track the right one down.

Brookline Fort, or Sewall's Point, as the land was called during the mid-18th century, was a part of the Town of Brookline, Massachusetts. It was built in June/July 1775 during the Siege of Boston to prevent the British getting boats up the Charles River and behind Provincial lines. It was a critical location and troops were brought in to defend it. Amongst those troops were men from Colonel Samuel Gerrish's regiment. Today, the Boston University bridge and part of the Boston University campus sit around where the original fort was, and the Massachusetts Turnpike goes right through it. The location of the fort shows up on period maps of the Siege with the most detailed being by Henry Pelham (Figure 7). Pelham was the half-brother of John Singleton Copley and a talented artist also. His 1775 map of the Siege shows the fort, and looking at it you can see why the location was so important to defend. (David Prawdzik Collection)



Figure 7. Detail of the Henry Pelham map showing Brookline Fort. Today, the location is near the Boston University bridge and the Massachusetts Turnpike runs right through it. Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.

The Unfinished Horn



This horn was started and not finished by the same carver as the Thomas Smith horn above. It may be dated post-1776 based upon the name of "The Royal Artillery" on the Smith horn dated 1775, and this one being marked "The Continental Artillery," as

well as the small intertwined "USA" on the right side of the mortar bed. The cross-hatching work on the mortar bed looks to have been carved when the horn was originally made, so I don't think the "USA" was a later addition. The intertwined "USA" closely resembles those seen on Continental Army buttons that seem to appear around 1777.²¹ The horn shares a similar scene as the Thomas Smith horn with a flag, cannon and drum. The area where the name and date would be carved is blank, and the same hunting scene we see on the Smith horn was started but not finished. There are two other known examples of horns by this carver. The Lieutenant Micah Hoit horn is in a private collection, and one named to More Bird, which is listed in Granscay but without a picture and is

purportedly marked "More Bird his horn made at Brookline Forte December the XVIIIth MDCCLXXV".²² With the Brookline Fort designation on the Bird horn and the Roman numeral date like the

Smith horn, it makes sense to me that it was possibly carved by the same hand. (David Prawdzik Collection)

The Robert Harvey Horn



Some Siege of Boston horns have fantastic patriotic motifs and Robert Harvey's horn is one of them! It's marked "Robert Harvey HIS Horn/MADE AT ROXBURY November/the 22nd AD 1775 IN DEFENCE/of American Liberty Union And/Liberty in all America/Liberty or Death". That's a lot of liberty! It also has what looks to be a sloop, as well as a depiction of the HMS Rose, the British ship that cruised the coast capturing Continental and civilian ships off Rhode Island and New York. And if there wasn't enough liberty in the title, it has a wonderfully carved liberty tree near the base. It is missing the pine plug, but this gives us a great opportunity to see the powder staining on the inside indicating its use as a powder vessel and not just as a memento. The attribut-

ed carver is Hezekiah Mack, which comes from the research of Dr. Philip Mead. Mack was from East Haddam, Connecticut and born in 1754. He served as a private in Colonel Spencer's regiment during the Siege, the same regiment as Harvey, and died in 1836.

Robert Harvey was born December 26, 1731, in New London, Connecticut, and enlisted in General Spencer's 2nd Connecticut Regiment in 1775. He served at Roxbury during the Siege of Boston and participated in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Later, he was assigned to General Poor's Continental Brigade at the Battle of Saratoga in 1777. Harvey died on December 18, 1800, in East Haddam, Connecticut. (Nick Manganiello Collection)

The John Frost Horn



One of the most prolific carvers of the mid-to-late 18th century has to be Jacob Gay. He worked during the French and Indian War as well as the American Revolution. His work is iconic and when you see a horn carved by him there are features that instantly catch your eye. On many of his horns, if there is an "O" in your name, there will be a little face carved inside the letter. There are other features also and this horn owned by John Frost shares a lot of them. It is marked "JOHN/FROST/His Horn MADE/At CAMBRIDGE By/JACOB GAY Janur.5.1776", and as mentioned, has the characteristic faces in the "O"s. There are soldiers carved above the rectangular name cartouche. Gay also used the British royal crest, but changed it up a bit. He has the unicorn and the lion, but inside the center is a face. We don't know if this is meant to be a self-portrait or maybe George Washington. Circling around the carved face is "MADE CAMBRIDGE COLLIDG BY JACOB GAY", which means he signed it twice, once here and once when he carved Frost's name and date in the cartouche. It also has a

banner under the face marked "SUCCESS TO AMERICA". On the opposite side are wonderfully carved animals and trees. It has a slightly domed pine plug on the base and an iron eye screwed in.

John Frost was born on August 15, 1738, in Kittery, Maine. He served during the French and Indian War and is listed on March 15, 1757, as captain of the 1st Company of Militia in the Town of Kittery. On March 10, 1762, he is listed as the 2nd Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk's Regiment. In 1775, he marched in response to the Lexington alarm and was a Lieutenant-Colonel at the Siege of Boston. He was promoted to Colonel on April 22, 1776, a month after the Siege ended. Later, he would participate at the battles of Saratoga and Monmouth. At the close of the war, he left as a Brigadier-General and returned to his home in Maine. He died in 1810 and is buried in Eliot, Maine. (Nick Manganiello Collection)

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Endnotes

- ¹ American Antiquarian Society, United States Revolution Collection 1754-1928, Box 1, Folder 18
- ² Elbridge Gerry, a member of the Committee of Supplies, had stayed the night at the Black Horse Tavern in Menotomy on April 18th after a meeting of the committee. He wrote a note to John Hancock who was staying in Lexington that he had seen the British patrol heading west. Hancock wrote back at 9 PM "*I am much oblig'd for your Notice, it is said the officers are gone Concord Road, & I will send word thither I am full with you we ought to be serious, & I hope your decisions will be effectual.*" Dr. Gary Milan Collection
- ³ *Boston Gazette*, 1-16-1775
- ⁴ Massachusetts Archives Collection, Volume 327, p. 79
- ⁵ Letter from an Unknown British Officer, Collection of Dr. Gary Milan Collection
- ⁶ Massachusetts Archives Collection, Volume 138, p. 383a
- ⁷ Letter in the Collection of the Arlington Unitarian Universalist Church
- ⁸ *The Orderly Book of Colonel William Henshaw, April 20-Sept 25, 1775*, Boston; A. Williams and Company, 1881, p. 13-14
- ⁹ Massachusetts Archives Collection, Volume 146, P. 14
- ¹⁰ Ibid, Muster Roll Volume 70, p. 308
- ¹¹ Ibid, Volume 205, p. 30b
- ¹² "*Each Box is to be made for 19 Rounds & not to be recd: unless well made.*" Letter from David Cheever to Nathaniel Barber dated June 17, 1775, Massachusetts Archives Collection, Volume 205, p. 24
- ¹³ Obadiah Brown Diary, Massachusetts Historical Society Collection
- ¹⁴ Agreement between the Board of War and cartridge box maker Nathan Smith "*March 28, 1777, agreed with the Board of War to make them in a Fort night five hundred Cartouch Boxes agreeable to the pattern shown with the addition of an ear at each end to defend the Cartridges from the weather.*" Massachusetts Archives Collection, Volume 293, p. 139-1
- ¹⁵ Ibid, Volume 97, p. 294
- ¹⁶ Ibid, Muster Roll Volume 12, p. 115
- ¹⁷ Henry P. Johnston, *Record of Service of Connecticut Men Volume I, War of the Revolution, 1889*, p. 50
- ¹⁸ Ibid, p. 86
- ¹⁹ Massachusetts Archives Collection, Muster Roll Volume 15, p. 39
- ²⁰ *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution*, Volume 14, p. 560
- ²¹ Don Troiani and James L. Kochan, *Insignia of Independence*, Thomas Publications, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 2012, p. 193
- ²² Stephen V. Granscay, *American Engraved Powder Horns*, Ray Riling Arms Books Co. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1965, p. 44, #79
- ²³ Henry P. Johnston, *Record of Service of Connecticut Men Volume I, War of the Revolution, 1889*, p. 46
- ²⁴ Massachusetts Archives Collection, Volume 95, p. 374
- ²⁵ Ibid, Volume 99, p. 41
- ²⁶ Ibid, Muster Roll Volume 27, p. 217

